1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Dari and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

The history of the Masai, so far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural nations, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and suffering for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1830 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether Africans or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1833 they raided Taveta, on the road near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1887) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 17,000 to 19,000. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 3,500 in the

[1] See Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (1878), i. 48, &c. It is true that some explanations ascribed to the Dinka, such as "We do not know why we were born," might be interpreted as a reminiscence of the law of tradition.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



Naivasha province and 3,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro.

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1840 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Galla and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1840 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Englaroni at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called L-Odigelia or Degelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1883, when Fischer crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Naivasha about 1840 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Naivasha and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Englaroni, the Sotkenya, and perhaps the people of Sambura in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning plains. The pastoral section chiefly themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kapotei (Kapiti plains), Ilo-sigirua (Naivasha), Kisonge (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and L-Arbiyyuk. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12



permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Sambura in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisonga. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Rift Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony.*

* * *

A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralized authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organization.

The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

* SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *E. A. C. R.*, p. 106. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Nyika and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Mumbwa. See Fosbrooke, p. 1. This disliking may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1950, I visited the Dilgiri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 80 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The custom of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

FL/2
p.[illegible]

visited in that year. A graphic account of a Shoni visitation to the eastern end of Shoni Kenya is given by Commander Gordon, R.N., in the "Scottish Geographical Magazine" of March, 1906. Commander Gordon navigated the Tana River to a point 300 miles from its mouth in the early nineties, and then proceeded overland towards Shoni Kenya.

A Shoni raid

"On our return," he writes, "through the Shoi country, a most harrowing sight presented itself: what only a few days before were prosperous villages, abounding with fields of grain, were now smoking ruins. Bodies of old men, women and children, half-burnt, lay in all directions. Here and there might be seen a few solitary individuals, sitting with their heads buried in their hands, hardly noticing the passing convoy, and apparently in the lowest depths of misery and despair. On questioning several of these unhappy beings, I was informed that the Shoni had unexpectedly arrived one morning at dawn, spearing and burning all before them, and carrying off some 200 women and large herds of cattle. Only a few of the unfortunate people had escaped by flying to the mountains."

FL/2
p.[illegible]

Bubonic plague

Shoni-Kenya

In the end of 1899, a bubonic plague started on the East Coast, spreading Inland, and spread inland. By the spring of 1900 it had not reached the Shoni country, but by the autumn of that year it had spread through Shoniland and Ukamba and the majority of cattle and buffalo were dead. Nevertheless, the Shoni were attacked by small-pox and their numbers considerably reduced. The cattle plague caused their emigration and largely deprived them of their means of subsistence and the subsequent disease found them weak and hungry and killed off large numbers. From this date Shoni supremacy ceased to exist and, though the bulk of them were long scattered they persisted in the coast areas, the other surrounding the Shoni country were not slow to take their revenge for the oppression and plunder they had suffered in the past, and on the advent of the Company's administration, the Shoni were in a pitiable plight.

FL/2
p.[illegible]

Relations between Wakamba and Shoni

In extract from Captain (now General Sir F. D.) Lugard's diary is interesting as showing the relations of the Wakamba and the Shoni at this transition stage:—

"These Wakamba are at constant war with the Shoni. They have sentry-posts along the hills and on the lookout, by day and night, I believe, so that the approach of any Shoni is at once known, and they assemble in enormous numbers, almost instantaneously, to fight them. Moreover, every day little parties pass my camp (on the lookout) on their way to loot cattle from the Shoni. Some at two a.m., perhaps, returning further on (where they got on their own ground). It is a daily sight, and one sees them going and returning all day long on their regular lines. Altogether, they seem to make a pretty fair (or the Shoni about here to turn the Shoni into Wakamba cattle, etc."

Railway from Mombasa

Kenya

A railway was established by the Imperial British East Africa Company at Mombasa in 1896, and on being sent up the country to Uganda Captain Lugard had received instructions to build a station at Kipungu Rapids. This site, however, he found to be a most unsuitable one, constructed except by passing Shoni, who were in the habit of growing their fields and herds in their neighbourhood during the dry season. As the object of the station was to be the headquarters of a caravan for the purchase of food for caravans proceeding to Uganda, he decided to build at the northern extremity of Kikuyu, as close as possible to Shoniland, so as to get in touch with the tribe, but outside the borders of the rich and fertile, but prohibited country, and he consequently selected Dagoretti as a suitable site, in October, 1890.

Kikuyu

Dagoretti

Kikuyu relations with the Shoni

In describing the Kikuyu relations with the Shoni at the time of the first visit, Captain Lugard writes:—"These people are at constant war with the Shoni, who periodically raid the country in strong war-parties. The Wa-Kikuyu, however, hold their own, either surprised or attacked in overpowering force. I saw along one of the roads made a series of pits concealed in the usual fashion by the side of the path, and was told that, in the event of a Shoni raid, numbers would conceal themselves in each of these pits, and upon the Shoni as they passed

133 [illegible] the permanent water supply. The area is well wooded, but there is no doubt that a larger head of cattle could be carried there if such improvements were effected.

In the north-western extremity of the Lake Plains lies the Lower Valley, the scene of certain engineering activities in the construction of dams and an weir which was constructed initially for European occupation before it was doubled to accommodate the flood from Lakagan in the Kirkpatrick Northern Flood Channel. This valley possesses no permanent watercourse but provides excellent grazing during the wet weather when water abounds. To the west stand the Lower Hills, the highest point of which, Kakawai (Kirkpatrick), rises to an altitude of nearly 1,000 feet, while to the north, Kipsiki separates the Lower Valley from the Main River.

South of the Lower Range lies the extensive tracts of Chara, Lorora and Kaitchan, while on the west the country descends to the Lorogai Plain through which flows the Main River. In the vicinity of Main Station another lower hill is reached situated on both sides of the river, forming the southern extremity of the Chemchemgai Forest which acts as a buffer upon between the Masai and Kamba on the right bank of the Main.

The eastern plains

The Lower Main area of the Masai Reserve may be described as an elevated tableland of an average height of some 4,000 feet with a long central range of hills running up it from south to north and there merging into a still higher plateau of an undulating nature, many of the mountains of which attain an altitude of about 7,000 feet. To the south, this plateau is considered primarily along the eastern side by the Loita Escarpment, rising there almost a thousand feet to the Main River which flows at the foot in a southerly direction. Through this area flows the Uaso Nyiro River, the most important branch of which rises in the west of Lelangai and flows almost directly southwards until it passes the long flat-topped hill known as Longonot. It then turns east. The area is crossed with trails in varying degrees but one half is now made of the whole is excellent grass land which is all within reach of one branch or the other of the Uaso Nyiro.

● [illegible] The portion of the reserve now previously occupied by Masai who were previously confined to small areas in their wells or the water they have been granted to the settlement of outsiders.

The northern area consists of rolling hills and valleys interspersed with well watered flats and swollen hills, the valley being mostly grassed with occasional vegetation and scattered groups of trees. It is fairly well watered, especially near the extremity of the Chemchemgai Forest, but there are also large flats destitute of wood or bush. The available water supply is ample for any number of stock.

The western area lies at a lower altitude and has an average rainfall of not less than 40 inches. The grazing is long and rank and there is bush over about one-third of it.

Between the Uaso Nyiro and the Loita Escarpment the country consists of stretches of bush with excellent grazing in the valley spots. It is rather poorly watered but several streams exist which do not dry up altogether.

The country below the escarpment is fairly well watered and is used by the Masai in the dry season.

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## SECTION VII

# THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

### GENERAL NOTE

Masailand constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies in the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 23 of 1911, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter on which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,171 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 55,000.[1] The density is thus 3.6 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for Europeans use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, comparatively estimated as a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes exterilian.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by Hobley as "a virile tribe of pastoralists nomads," they have on all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Ngong, Ngare Nyiro and other areas, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 80,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still in some measure suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1891, which had wrought such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1913 the estimate had gone up to 800,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1918 and 1919, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent offered by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1938, page 132.

[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district in L. Evans, op. cit., page 20 et seq., however, very superior with a useful bibliography.

[3] Correspondence with Hobley, Memo of the Masai District, C. O. Confidential, 1918, page 2.

[illegible] divided into two sections, the agricultural (Tadbag) and the pastoral Maasi, there were remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Maasi, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,500 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Maasi. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (referred to elsewhere [illegible]), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Maasi.

As a pastoral people the Maasi are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avoid destruction of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that there is often practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and successive East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the last eighteen a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to enrich a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. In some areas, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Maasi present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of an extensive [illegible] area. From a social point of view there are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. [illegible] as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

## THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a summary which summarizes their chief features. See page 40a.

### [illegible]

In the Meatu District the present formation of the Chaggs Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1948. Up to that time the Chaggs had been split up into nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the strongly clan body and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from [illegible] persons in the Kharkaara chiefdom to 900 in the Meatu. They were united in a Council of Chaggs Chiefs, which was responsible mainly

[1] The Maasi, T. C. Hollis, 1905, page 2 and 3.

[illegible]

junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where similar conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1880 to 1890 is regarded by the Maasai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at the time; it was he who called up the Matha Maasai to fight the Uasingishu and Lumbwa sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes, the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

But about 1890 the Maasai were visited by the triple misfortune of famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture, in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was to fast scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purko and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Narobi, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat to turn the Laitayok, Dalai and Seronget of the Lolondo area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kisongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmolog. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Loliondo, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kisongo, supported by the Purko. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement, the Kisongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purko from the north, via Loliondo, whilst the Kisongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, to save that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German Government pursued in relation to the Maasai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Maasai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Maasai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Moshi, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Kisongoro Loita of Loliondo, the Dalai and Seronget west of the Rift, the Wiremedoi of north Mbulu and Monduli, the Siglimori of Kenya and the Matapato of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

/7

In three eighty years that followed one another at long intervals, the Idimi people came from the north drawn toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new Iten Kitale homeland, and the different shaping of their lore conditioned by that cause them appear to us today as three branches of the Idimi people.

The ancestors of the earliest immigrant band are the Aak, more generally known under the name of Wandorobo /Wandorobbo/ (a Swahi formation from the Idimi word El Aadho : the poor), of whom they form only a part.

Although the traditions of the Aak has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as cattle-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. When among successive livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tenges enclosed the Aak to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Idimi, the El Kunyit, the five sections of which were the El Lumbwa, and the last one the El Masik, when it came in, to drive out the ruined once altogether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as servants of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

The fate of the Aak, however, was not to be spared the El Kunyit either. After a rather long period during which they cooperated with the Tenges for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the new misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El Kalenjin (Eng. of Kalenjin), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the pressure of the Tenges, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the hostility of the Idimi. They joined the El Kunyit for the common fight against the former.

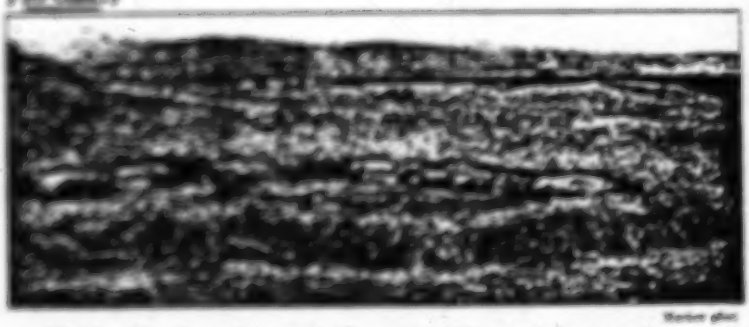
/12 cont./

Wakuri settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest where the Wakuri have already been sedentary longest, least and often scarcely /12/ noticeable or even not at all where they did not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century. The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new blood elements to the Wakuri, had a restraining effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about the family tree. Among the Wandamba who live far from the Negroes, in the midst of the most inhospitable bush of the steppe, for the most part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken place, at all, against which, to be sure, exist with the Ivumba, belonging to the ethnically related Tenga, must be assumed with certainty on grounds of a historic and linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also seems excluded from the women, for they constantly bid an influx of blood owners and children, whose husbands and fathers had perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three blood branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear unathletically thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are graceful, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear rounded. Sharpness, unlovely angularness one really finds only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is low proportions than among Negroes, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

/13 cont./

341
133



Ill. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the
[342] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site
for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and
then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that
[309] the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not
use any auxiliary means for measuring it: measuring by eye is
sufficient for the women who, even as a child, helped her mother
342 with this work. Into the ground plan, at four-long intervals, poles
335 (ol ilmi, ol ilo) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground
and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni,
ol gerenyi). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight
supports (en kogiekit) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar
(ol oomboro, ol oomboroi) is put from one end of the hut to the
[324] other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed
[324] together with papyrus grass (en medja). By interplaiting finger-
thick switches (en isechoi, o isecho) walls /24/ and roof are made
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters
[291] high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Bears' skins served
[313] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the
Ilmamark around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/
[324] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast
[324] to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a
[291] layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

/39 cont./

592 The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors
422 consist of captured livestock and in the main passe into the father's
[434] herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man
593 of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the elder one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brethren for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family: just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The
• [731] fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that
[567] followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad
591 treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his
613 lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/91 cont./

537 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
536 over the level of the exercised (mig ni ni morsai). Only on moon-
539 lit evenings /91/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in: in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 13-14 years ago, before the Mawai had built huge
livestock-buildings in two great epidemics, each family had its
own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
families live together.

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
238 to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
239 the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
512 from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
262 mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
415 completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
412 before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

/all caps/

father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the oldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her rightful husband to the nearest corresponding age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have committed a sin, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El nagonos and El ilbordo do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 20 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of head, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /all/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

[Fig. 232.]

232 [illegible] are [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] by the [illegible] of the [illegible] with the club between the [illegible] of a bow [illegible]. The [illegible] are not [illegible], but are left to [illegible]. In the [illegible] way one proceeds to [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible], but the latter always [illegible] until they are fully grown. [illegible] and [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] are [illegible] as soon as the [illegible] is [illegible], since they are [illegible] as [illegible] bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of their [illegible], they bring the [illegible] of God upon the land in the form of an [illegible].

231 The [illegible] are small, square-built, strong, and excellent. With [illegible] arched [illegible], a [illegible] neck, firm and [illegible] [illegible], they are very similar in shape to the [illegible]. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black [illegible] over the back and [illegible]. [232] They serve only to carry [illegible], whereas [illegible] are [illegible] used.

233

Fig. 14. Hawaii goats and sheep.

/348 cont./

[illegible] necessity. Rather, I should call their behavior schizoid-paranoid and mention in this connection that the Ibani, extraordinarily vain about preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength, [illegible] also moderation in sexual enjoyment.

[illegible] An outstanding people-preserving force is a strict organization. It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized one, and here has given the Ibani a position of power over the Ibgoms. A well organized people of the Kappa culture as such grows to little inside to quiet contemplation. Rather, such people are always characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. The males [illegible] felt have forcefully shown all, since in /347/ thirteen great wars of ours. It has often happened that only half of them who set out returned indeed, they will of expeditions in which all the warriors were killed. At the beginning of the disaster -- to cite one example, several thousand Ibani warriors set out against Ibgwaremet. They had assembled a few hours to the west of Ibaraberg /adv. Ibara/ and had as a guide an Ibgwaremet spy by the name of Ibgbeja, who had lived for a long time among them. During the night before the planned attack, Ibgbeja betrayed it to his countrymen. The Ibani were repulsed with heavy losses and ranned back. Far more than half of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to fourteen-day march. Such wars killing expeditions of war are by no means rarities; rather they were constantly in the history of the Ibani. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to them.

With regard to the harm that Everbark epidemics (1)

> 1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1948 is, for of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and diarrheal, and, on the other hand, the removal of the lands by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military victims.

/Def. cont./
192 caused the Ideni people in the period before the occupation of the
• 231 country by Europeans. I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Both can scarcely exist, for at that time the Ideni were a feared power that every caravan tried to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Ideni fled to wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[421] Furthermore, the war expeditions were brought adventurous for the fallen animals and thus served to preserve prosperity (5).

> 5. It is to be inserted here that empirically Ivanov's epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps them in his hut, which is far from the next one. Through that the Ideni were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

187 Finally, the Ideni's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
188 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
197 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /[illegible]/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

[illegible]

/140 cont./

illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our conscience of justice and our Christian morality, and which cease to arise in the economic field exploitation in the common sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as protector and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only has often overturns the foundation pillar on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings, to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the exertion of military masters their great protection in the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that, they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior pasture. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the European occupation, had still been the strong people of fifty years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily severe famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppe around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

[illegible]

/540 cont./

[illegible] last been seen with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and
• 231 out of the mission animals. Any of the women and girls who had not
died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing
[illegible] agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals.
A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell
herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation.
Negroes and caucasoes /540/ took possession of the still-hot ones, in
order to smell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part
through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but
some are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their
blood flows as beneficially in the new sinews with Negroes, are
[illegible] permanently lost to the Ibani people. So greatly has the misfortune,
to which an opposite effect is no often ascribed, broken up the
[illegible] former organization, the fine unity, that, even after the end of the
epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lasaro-Ciudoo
about the undivided rule over the Ibani could begin. With its ever-
increasing civil war it acts powerfully toward the completion of the
destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom since
[illegible] the Ibani fervently waged war, except for smaller undertakings
among themselves, which have more the character of provocative
than of serious battles, were opposed inferior to them. Now equal
parties stand opposite each other, which makes the war bloodier,
more destructive.

[illegible] Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics
and civil wars, there is now going on among the Ibani -- as formerly
[illegible] among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentism.
[illegible] Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones
[illegible] founding the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in
part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat
removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate
for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be
particularly skilful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet
her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering
suffices to make the banana shoot sent in the virgin soil grow and
produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily
satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1954-1962)1954 FL12 Maasai FL12



175 •98 •433 [illegible] about 1890, at the peak of their power and prosperity, the Masai were struck by famine, smallpox, and cholera. The effects of a protracted drought about 1890 were intensified by cholera. This bacterium whose disease in other hosts is fatal to cattle and many wild ungulates. It was introduced into Abyssinia and Egypt from India and the Black Sea in the late 1880's (Pankhurst, 1958). By 1890 it had swept into South Africa, killing many of Africa's domestic and wild ungulates on the way. The disease entered Rhodesia in 1896 via some diseased cattle stolen by the Masai at Bulawayo (Pankhurst, op. cit.). It really the same time it may have entered Rhodesia to the north and south west. It rapidly spread to eventually kill the cattle of the Masai, as well as to many of the wild animals. At the same time a smallpox epidemic struck the Masai. Thomson (1885), who entered the Kenya Colony in 1883, wrote a graphic account of the physical condition of the sick and dying Masai he encountered on the Uasin Plain.

As a result of these multiple disasters, many areas formerly occupied by the tribe were emptied, the cattle gone, and the people dead or scattered.

175 During the famine, the Laibon Mbatian died. His

A general phase[1] drought commenced in 1961, and as a result of the extreme overgrazing in Southern Somaliland, thousands of cattle and many Somali died. As was evident on the ground, and as clearly pointed out by many -- even reluctantly officers (Huddleston, 1963) -- the mortality was due to starvation on range depleted by overgrazing before the drought. There was plenty of water for the animals to drink. The mortality in the cattle of Southern Somaliland ran from [illegible] to over [illegible] head, and I was told that over 1,000 Somali starved to death also. In spite of this dramatic illustration, the Somali to whom I talked in 1963 blamed their difficulties on the will of God or the Europeans who appropriated their land.

Somali Livestock: The Somali cattle of Southern Somaliland today are a mixture of breeds with short-horned zebu (Bos indicus) predominating. The Somali slightly paler longer horned animals, and occasional hands still have a wooden-horned humpless Galla bull. It has been suggested (Payne,and Somali, verbal) that before the rinderpest epidemic of the 1890's the Somali cattle were predominantly long-horned. The rinderpest epidemic wiped out most of these animals, and the short-horn zebu, with its greater resistance to rinderpest, took their place. The short-horn zebu was introduced from

[illegible] and grazing for up into the same area of the Kenedi, and the successful rains that followed the dry period in 1961 created new erosion scars of as great magnitude as those of the earlier period.

At the peak of the years of the Mossi in the [illegible] they had very large numbers of livestock. There [illegible] of intensity of livestock grazing, and probably overgrazing, came at the onset of the droughts which culminated in the famine of 1970. Conditions may have been [illegible] the same as in 1961. The effect of grazing animals on the vegetation, as well as the impact of fires where there was fuel, probably reached a peak about 1960. It is probable that a brush invasion through overgrazing was already starting in some of the open grasslands.

[illegible] 1970-1975: The result of the combination of disasters that struck the Mossi in the 1970's was that they largely vacated the Serengeti Plain and the country to the north all the way to the Lotte Plain. There was a period of about 15 years of very much reduced grazing by domestic livestock and apparently reduced grass burning, and for part of this period there was probably almost no regular grazing or burning. This was

one amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Uasin* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are given an half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Kiptigit and Sabaot-speak Masai, who owing to their feebleness, cattle, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The new tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes—thus, the Anjiro and Chakwanjiro clans say they are descended from the Kisoko, the Aithekiko and Aithera from the Kamba, the Kamba from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone inquiring into the descent of these present or a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Masai, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Kisoko, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Gisagirie and Ngumba, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Masai country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Gisagirie, but I have met a native of Ngumba whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Masai and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumba are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Kamei, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumba of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, i.e., they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had admixture in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of negro people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, to what is now known as the Fort Hall District. Ameru, Galla, Somali, or some other similar people effected a very strong foray in Kikuyu some fifty or seventy years ago. Amongst the tribes they belonged to the Dorobo Lakolale, Ingiroi, and Kukwanyoni clans[‡] and they had settlements at Kiyeri, Nairombo, Kijabe, Petite Hills, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In these days the Kiptigit Masai occupied the Lubigis Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Sapetiat in the Kidong Valley, and the Loroosa at Uasin. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare. The Loroosa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Aimo, a Dorobo clan, could no hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still in the Somali somewhere in the vicinity of Kismayu[§]; the latter were Wandorobo[‖].

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Sogi (or, to give him his correct name, Segoni), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Uasin is said to be derived from Ki-Dorobo slang, any Europe means. Uasin is the name of the most important clan in the particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Digos, who have intermarried with the Giga, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Kyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Dorobo is the Kikuyu, Kiptigit the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Probably the people, who live on Mount Kere to Kenana East tribes.

‖ By Wandorobo the up-country native often means the race generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Kenya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Wamia; Ang. Wanya.